/230 cont./

793 184 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani,which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. -- [191] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Purubora.

/231/

V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 574 576 [184] 535 584 [178] A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved, especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited, adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

[634] Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the 177 178 574 576 [192] man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./ In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 796 533 778 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained. In honor of Nhanderykey his song is still sung, usually in front of the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

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/Information on the myth of paradise (Land Without Evil) in Guarani culture and life will be found in category 772./

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbarakâ*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*paʾí*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *paʾí*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapúi* of the *paʾí*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbarakâ* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *Ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*paʾí*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With [648] reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented [101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory; a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally [875] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, 169 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last [773] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the [789] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafliguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguauiva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a [361] relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/26 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [164] [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva: there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter [732] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalised [143] in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my observations among mestizo children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which [177] [192] boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago: I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among [173] them. But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá: I have seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Itariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1948 under the chieftaincy of the ñanderú Miguel. Those that most [184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

243 /47 cont./

In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ [262] [273] [433] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. [437] Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of [197] [437] the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There in- [773] heres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one [126] [114] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queiróz, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

/49 cont./

243 824 too. The red maize avatĩ pukú pytã, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears.

• [193] Djakairá was a Kayová Indian who received the white saboró maize from the hands of the "Virgen de los Milagres," in Caácupé, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An

243 824 12 abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant. In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

243 796 All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayová. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim [115] Constant in Amambai described to me a whole mongaraí sequence (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle [192] [824] paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases: before the clearing is burned (djadjapó roá roráangá, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñanderosá kaýguẽ, let us go to baptize the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the hũ a só, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñañembo'é ñandé avatĩ rũ arasoré); when the kernel is forming, a time when "rust"

/89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible. For the Mbüá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and Ñandéva; it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear indispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck. The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's benefit. The Ñandéva from Araribá told me: "The father should not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not remain dry; the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong." And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron implements. (Among the Mbüá the woman is allowed to sew during the period of resguardo.)

The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépotá; that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who "give the odjépotá "are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbolism. Odjépotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not respecting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts him, and he becomes odjépotá; in the words of an informant from Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man remains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

Concerning the danger of the odjépotá of the father, among the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tadjatsú (queixada /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst of the queixadas. He remains living amidst the queixadas, taking

/89 cont./

846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá
825 of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is
• 773 menstruating.
[881]
846 The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
178 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it
is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until
the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they
stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take
the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to
[881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating
girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject
rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.
846 Among the Nandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her
puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
[826] leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal,"
odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other
human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the trans-
ference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous
change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová
maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices
[609] that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
[304] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these
ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower
[178] lip. The Nandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
[184] Mbüa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

2: Schaden--163 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/126 cont./

78 182 doctrines themselves. As internal dissentions increase, these same concepts, as is clarified in another part of this work, serve to make the group itself responsible for the impossibility of achieving cultural ideals which, nonetheless, everybody continues to aspire to. Concrete expressions of this impossibility are, in the first place, the reduction and final disappearance of the feasts with collective prayers and dances, and, secondly, the progressive abandonment of the individual prayer as a manifestation of religiousness. Without any exaggeration it can be [181] said that the Guaraní ceases to be Guaraní when he ceases to feel the necessity to apply himself to his religious devotions, that is, to the porahêi.

/127/ When the social disorganization of the villages reaches the point of making the feasts with collective prayers and dances no longer performable, the family heads still continue to perform the domestic cult, the last one to die out. At Bananal [184] I found few houses in which anyone still prayed; at Dourados I never heard a Ñandéva sing his porahêi. This is a state which none of the Kayová or Mbüá villages visited by me had reached.

4. Ideas about sicknesses and death

753 [703] It might be said in the last analysis that the dangers, the great misfortunes that preoccupy and torment the spirit of the Guaraní, are reduced to two: the many sicknesses that afflict him and, even more, the mythical idea of the end of the world ever closer and closer.

Let us linger a little over the notion of the illnesses which in fact prevail frighteningly among the poor Guaraní and which -- it is not difficult to verify -- will see to it that the day on which the end of the world will be reached for this tribe actually is not far off.

2: Schaden--174 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal [163] experiences. This is what happened to the ñanderú Sebastião, the doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 782 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called oñeẽgupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication. [184] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large [187] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéý, or [176] of the solar god Paí Kuaráy. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéý once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 795 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not necessarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 773 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

2: Schaden--175 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/134 cont./

761 armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has
• 773 the notion of escaping. The Guaraní has an incomparably greater fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with the idea of eternal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not know. The important thing in any case is the verification that, integrated into the Guaraní doctrinary system, it has been transformed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guaraní mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations of the tribe.

761 One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a
764 Guaraní -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversa-
[114] tion touches on this domain. As far as the Mbüá are concerned, it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of the groups visited, to show me a grave.

764 Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common
178 among the Guaraní. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed, its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron utensils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only insignificant vestiges remain today.

/135/ Burial inside the huts, according to my observations and the information collected, is not observed among the present-day Guaraní either.

764 Among the Mbüá, however, the memory that they formerly
178 had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are
184 found in the forest, some kilometers from the village, far from
[171] one another, there being over them a small mound of earth, hut of guaricanga and a wooden cross thrust in at the feet of the deceased (the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the three

2: Schaden--180 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

765 175 [775] 191 [829] religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (19) --

764 [114]

19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

764 178 [182] that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 775 [773] Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý marã eỹ, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's explanation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

2: Schaden--199 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/156 cont./

538 199 181 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folklore takes on local color: they begin to talk a lot about "encanto" /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 825 [171] In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal) ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- particularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house, it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family: even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[753] [761]

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at the post of Icatu (6).

825 787 793

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

2: Schaden--200 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/157 cont./

825 787 793 the solar hero gave each animal the task that would fall to it on earth, he said to the cock: "At dawn you shall start divining, you shall start to crow." Schaden, 1947, p. 114.

787 177 A very important sector of the influence of the caboclo folklore on Guaraní culture is that of magical defense against pains and inauspicious influences of any nature. The interest in the practices of defensive and protective magic stems for its part from the position of importance occupied by black magic in the mental life of the Guaraní. Capitão Bento of Bananal wore at his neck a bag with the copy of a "prayer" to São Jorge /Saint George/ to save him from "Coisa Ruim" /Bad Thing/ and enemies; a small aluminum cross is supposed to cure him of fever and avert dangers. 789 177 824 Old Pedro Pires, likewise a Ñandéva of the coast, has among the little pendants that he wears at his neck a small cross of cedar as a "defense" against enemies and "other things"; to protect himself against "coisa ruim," he has a necklace of capiá-mirim seeds (7).

7. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is the same as is used to make the djeatsaá, the variety of elongated seed that they claim to have brought from the Paraná. According to Pedro Pires, the capiá-mirim" is very delicate, it is not for every hand that it will grow, it is necessary to choose the hand." Concerning the djeatsaá, I defined it elsewhere: "The pectoral rows of black seeds or yma ũ, which the men wear crosswise over the chest during the religious practices and in other situations of their lives; the word is translated 'to cross'." Schaden apud Nimuendajú, 1954, p. 53. By way of rectification, I want to recall that in Araribá women are seen with djeatsaá.

2: Schaden--202 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/158 cont./

776 one only hears its whistle, which inspires fear: it never speaks with anyone, has a human appearance, and is provided with two legs, but small, blackish (therefore also known as kambá ñ): it [184] does not smoke. -- The Kayová variant, collected in Benjamim [177] Constant, seems already to have been subjected to Brazilian or Paraguayan cultural influences. There the name is xaxim-taterê, a being described as a boy about five years of age, two legs, and just like a child, even the features. It manifests itself by a shrill whistle, which makes anyone who hears it shiver and shake: it is not heard in the middle of the forest, but only on the paths (numen viarum!). When the xaxim-taterê whistles, one must not mock it, not doubt its existence: otherwise it appears, armed with a stick, to punish anyone who does not believe in it or who hoots at it. There are xaxim-taterê with white skin and others with black skin: there is no mention of xaxim-taterê with bronze skin. It is considered a kind of night guard, pyharê rupigué. Its magical force is in the little stick that it carries with it. If the little stick is taken away from it, it loses the power that it possesses. It greatly likes smoking and drinking. If a person wants to see it, it suffices to put a bottle of drink and a little tobacco at the place where the whistle is heard. To make the xaxim-

776 taterê drunk is the means for taking the stick from it. -- It is
177 obvious that the primitive native representation has been transformed there, as a result of cultural contacts. Nevertheless, it cannot be identified with the saci common in the region, among the rural population of Iberian origin, who, as they told me, is a one-legged, little black boy, a whistler, with a little horn on the forehead, and stealer of fair children.

• 773 It would certainly be an interesting task for a folklorist to
121 collect and analyze the popular tales incorporated into the patrimony /159/ of the various Guaraní groups. I have only noted some examples, in part from the native language. I want to discuss them in another work. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I have had an opportunity to observe the extraordinary attention with which the Indians listen to the caboclo tales told by the mestiço Leocádio de Oliveira, and the insistence with which they obliged him to go on with the narrative when by chance it was interrupted.

2: Schaden--207 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/162 cont./ Under the direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820, started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate surroundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

2: Schaden--208 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/162 cont./
in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In support of this hypothesis, it is fitting to mention the fact that those Guaraní who do not exhibit elements of unquestionably Christian origin in any of their culture -- such as, for instance, the Mbiá of eastern Paraguay, studied by León Cadogan -- for their part do not know about the grievous threat of the destruction of the world, although their mythology does not expressly exclude the possibility (3).

3. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1946, p. 34.

[114] If the supposition is true, already also indicated cautiously /163/ by Nimuendajú, that the belief in the destruction of the world in the future goes back to the days of the Jesuit catechizing, having perhaps originated from a reinterpretation of the Apocalypse of São João /St. John/ (4).

4. /From p. 177 of the original text./ It would clearly not be the first time in History that the Evangelist's text had such an effect. I quote the words of one of my professors "The belief in the proximate end of the world was general in the Middle Ages, owing to a false and materialistic interpretation of the question of the Apocalypse, and even if the terror of the year one thousand was not as great as it was painted by some historians, who with regard to it wrote romance rather than history, it is not possible to deny it altogether, as others assert." A. Piccarolo, 1939, p. 37.

then we must admit that poorly understood Christian teachings are responsible for a radical transformation of the religion of the tribe and that the conception of the world peculiar to the Guaraní of today is far from exhibiting the essentially native character that is customarily attributed to it.

2: Schaden--209 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/163 cont./

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The belief in future catastrophes (5)

5. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Graebner, 1924, pp. 68-69, seems to consider it characteristic of "patrilineal cultures." For the sake of a comparison of the Guaraní problem with analogous beliefs among the Australian aborigines, it is instructive to read Petri's article, 1950. In 1952 I had the opportunity to discuss the subject with this author at the University of Frankfurt am Main.

is a relatively rare phenomenon in the mythology of the Tupí group. Métraux told me that he had found it among the Txiriguáno /Chiriguano/. Father Albert Kruse recorded it among the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ (6)

6. /From p. 177 of the original source./ "At the end of the world, Karusakaybé will burn the human beings." Kruse, 1951, p. 922.

and Nimuendajú noted analogous ideas among the Tukúna /Tucuna/ (in whose language no small Tupí influence has been verified) (7).

7. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1952, pp. 137-139.

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In the Tukúna tribe, by the way, the belief appears in relation to the civilizer hero Dyoí, who would be offended by the fact that the spiritual tradition of the tribe had been adulterated by the cultural influences of the civilized world. The idea should be noted as significant because of its partial similarity with the Guaraní representations.

2: Schaden--210 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/163 cont./

The belief in the end of the world is far from having a uniform character in the different Guaraní populations, as happens, by the way, with the majority of their religious teachings. The Mbüá believe in an imminent Deluge, in a Universal Fire, and also in a prolonged darkness. For the Ñandéva, the catastrophe that threatens them consists principally in a general fire followed by the crumbling of the earth's surface, represented as a disk. Among the Kayová, as has already been said in an earlier chapter, there is found a description of a scene, rich in detail, in which there is mention of flying horses, macao arrow-shooters, and other types of monsters.

What is certain is that today the representation of Paradise appears closely bound up with the cataclysmology. Before the inevitable catastrophe happens, one hopes to reach the Land without Evil. Already at the time of the Jesuits, the native belief in Paradise or in happiness in the Beyond (in general without passing through the trial of death) was mixed with Christian elements, and, by virtue of the frustration of the attempts to reach the land of happiness, the myth is nowadays undergoing further transformations, obviously in connection with the general acculturative process.

If we maintain that the import of the representation of Paradise among the Guaraní is essentially linked to its relation with the cataclysmology, it should be understood by import not so much the function in religious life as, before anything else, the role that it has /164/ filled in the historical destiny of so many hordes of the tribe. Many of them had their fate sealed in part by the fact that they were seized by a true religious delirium, abandoning everything that they possessed, and migrating with women and children across territories peopled by enemy tribes, in the direction of the seacoast, and in part because they did not have at their disposal the cultural and psychic necessities for victory over the obstacles encountered in the civilized world.

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live
•[773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have
776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú,
772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he
776 782 771 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to
[784] [791] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder.
[824] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or
[821] [784] [782] [797] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ'*). A stock of traditional prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] [787] [756] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power from them.

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies.

In a *Paĩ'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea.

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother.

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guaraní*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Paĩ'* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37).

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guaraní* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule

/305 cont./

Tg 174 175 167 773

quoted in its entirety: /see the foreign text for the passage quoted in Portuguese/.

Something had to /306/ push them toward the west and determine the choice of their itinerary; the mirage which was attracting them was the one which was to cost the lives of so many Spaniards later on. It is a matter of the "great tidings" of this mysterious country abounding in riches, located beyond the forests toward the setting sun, and which the Tupinamba certainly likened and then merged with the "Land without affliction" about which the old myths told.

G 773 193 175 127

In the same period an analogous tendency to identify the country of the Inca with the one where the culture hero lived can be noted among the Guarani of Paraguay.

There is a very interesting, but seldom cited text which shows very well how the Guarani pictured the Inca Empire at the beginning of the 16th century. By comparing it to what we know of the myths of these same Indians, we shall be able to draw many a curious parallel, and I hope by this means to demonstrate that the Guarani believed they saw in the Inca their culture hero, Candire.

The document in question is found in the Relaciones geográficas de Indias (Vol. II, pp. LXXXIII-LXXXVII), where it comes under the following title: Relación general que se tomó en pública forma y se envió autorizada al virrey en la provincia de los Xarayes, que es en 17 grados sobre el rio Paraguay, 250 (leguas) de la Asumpcion, donde habia llegado el general Nuflo de Chaves con 150 hombres, con órden é intento de poblar en ella, y despues, por la relación que tomó paso adelante /General account which was put in published form and, authorized, was sent to the viceroy in the province of the Xaraye, which, at 17 degrees, is above the Paraguay River, 250 (leagues) from Asunción, where General Nuflo /Nufrio/ de Chaves arrived with 150 men, with orders and intent to colonize in it, and afterwards, by the account that he took further measures/.

/306 cont./

773 193 175 [48] The Spanish, addressing the Uratuvere, who formed a small Guarani colony in the region of the Xaray /Xaraye/, declared to them that they had come to bring them iron, to chastize the bad ones and to reward the good ones. To that the latter answered "that they were very pleased since they had very much wanted to see us in their lands, and that through us they would learn the days and God would not be offended with them and would give them more fruits on the land, and that their chief, Candire, had so wished it." /Translated from the Spanish./ The account continues in these words: "He had asked them where he was and why they called him Candire. He said that he was dead, and as for the reason for the name, he said that in times past his father was called Caya, who united the other neighboring peoples and entered among the Ortugueses /Pl. II appears here/ /307/ and among the Ontes, until he arrived at the towns of Paicocoro, the chief cacique, and the towns of Paiçuri, and he asked for the Candire who is master of the true metal and of all good things." /Translated from the Spanish./ At first sight one sees in this passage an obvious contradiction which can only be explained by the difficulties the Spaniards had in understanding their interlocutor: Candire on the one hand, is represented as a powerful Guarani chief who led them in a migration, and, on the other, he is a personage, "master of the true metal and all good things," in the quest of whom this same Candire left! Let us look further and try to disentangle this confusion. The country where Candire lives is depicted as having "deer with long hair" from which clothes are woven; gold and silver are found there, as well as a yellow metal which smells bad and with which tools are made (copper and bronze). Several lines farther on the Guarani informant declares that in the Sierra de Acharagua there exists a river from which yellow metal is taken: "Asking what Araraguagua (sic) is, they said that it is a very large sierra that continued far, and that one part was delimited by a very large lake, and that in the other part was a very large population of people who had only one chief, who was lord of all, who was called Candire; and that in the latter's presence all joined to

[Text Continues on P. 20]

193/307 cont./
193 sing with instruments of true metal, in the form of big reeds,
195 which made a good sound (these are the Guarani rhythm sticks); and they had others they played with the mouth. He had shown him a trumpet; they said that that chief, Candire, took his father's name, because in that land he killed many candires, who killed all the other people who had left with his father." /Translated from the Spanish./

The country of the Candires is the one where God put all the good things of this world; gold abounds there, one finds there fortresses defended by ditches. The Candire warriors are clothed, their battle-axes are of metal and their shields of gold and silver. In the interior is found white and yellow metal, etc. The land of the great Candire is located, geographically, beyond the Guapay River; to go there one crosses the land of the Timbu, of the Baure (Mbaure) who receive golden objects from the Candires. Near the land of the Candire live the Chiriguano and other Candires, Guarani and, moreover, relatives of the Uratuvere, who gave this information to Nufrio de Chaves.

It is obvious that the land of the Candires is none other than Peru (1). In the great Candire we have no trouble recognizing

1. In the commentaries of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 288 and 322), it is likewise a matter of the Candires as a people whom we can also identify with some Inca tribe.

the Inca. But why this merging of Candire and a Guarani chief /308/ and then the idealizing of this personage? Finally, what is this migration in search of the great Candire? The key to the problem is furnished us by another text from a slightly later period (1589) which concerns the Guarani of Itati, emigrants into the province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, that is, among the ancestors of the present-day Guarayú /Guarayu/ and Pauserna. It is a matter of a Jesuit Annua littera (see Métraux, 5, p. 924), in which much is said about these Indians, designated by the name of Itatines because of their country of origin. The anonymous

G 793 173 175 GU [796] [793] /308 cont./ Jesuit, author of this letter, tells us that Candire is their god. Actually, even today, Candir has a place among the culture gods or great gods of the Guarayú. In a fragment of Guarayú mythology published by Cardús (p. 76) Candir appears at the beginning of the world in the company of Mbiracucha (Viracocha), Zaguaguayu, Abaangui, and Tamoi. The creation of the Negroes is attributed to Candir.

G 177 793 There is nothing extraordinary in seeing the Inca decked out with the name of a Guarani god or culture hero. Confusion must have been produced there analogous to that provoked nearly everywhere in South America by the arrival of the white men. As we know, the latter have almost always been merged with the culture heroes. In the same way that the Tupinamba and Guarani saw in the first Spanish or Portuguese the descendants of the culture god or hero, it is possible that the ancient Guarani pictured Peru as the mysterious region to which the Great Ancestor had withdrawn; and in the sovereign of that empire they doubtless believed they recognized the culture hero himself, Candire.

G 167 174 All those who know the Indians of tropical America from having seen them will have no difficulty in picturing these migrations of the Guarani toward the Andes.

G [721] When an enterprising chief with his "soldiers" succeeded in crossing the Chaco and making some fruitful raid among the Chané, nothing else was needed for the news to spread from mouth to mouth upon their return and arouse everywhere the desire to imitate him and the hope of similar gains. In each village the affair was discussed, the chiefs talked in the evening around the fire or at the time of the great collective drinking bouts, and the young men dreamed of obtaining, in their turn, silver ornaments, bronze axes, and the long woolen shirts in which those who had come back from the land of the Candir dressed. Here and there people decided to leave in the good season to try their luck. The inhabitants of several villages took counsel together to set the date of departure and they prepared for it slowly. The women busied themselves with the provisions, roasted corn and made flour of it or grated manioc which they transformed into cassava bread. Others prepared corn beer for the feast which would precede the departure.

G 174 167 721 [177]